

## Message Text

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FOR THE SECRETARY AND SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

DEPT PASS CONFIRMATION COPY TO EDMONDSON IN DAR ES SALAAM

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, MZ

SUBJ: RICHARD-MACHEL TALKS ON RHODESIA

1. SUMMARY: RICHARD VERY PLEASED BY MACHEL'S RESPONSE TO BRITISH PRESENTATION. THOUGH MACHEL SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT COLLEAGUES REGARDING ANY STATEMENT ON ENDING GUERRILLA WAR, HE INDICATED GENERAL APPROVAL OF BRITISH IDEAS ON INTERIM GOVERNMENT, UNDERSTANDING OF NEED FOR VORSTER TO PLAY ROLE IN WINNING SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE, AND AGREEMENT THAT WARFARE SHOULD STOP IF SATISFACTORY INTERIM GOVERNMENT WERE ESTABLISHED. MACHEL SAID THAT IF HE WERE A ZIMBABWEAN HE WOULD ACCEPT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS. END SUMMARY

2. RICHARD CHARACTERIZED 2 HOUR MEETING WITH MACHEL, CHISSANO, MONTEIRO AND OTHERS THIS MORNING AS BEST HE HAS HAD; THEN CORRECTED HIMSELF BY SAYING THAT THE MEETINGS WITH VORSTER AND MACHEL WERE THE BEST HE HAD HAD SO FAR. ATMOSPHERE WAS FRIENDLY AND MACHEL MORE SYMPATHETIC THAN THEY EXPECTED. RICHARD GAVE MACHEL THE STANDARD RUNDOWN ON BRITISH PROPOSALS, ENDING WITH STATEMENT THAT BRITISH NEEDED SOMETHING FROM MACHEL AND  
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FROM UPCOMING LUSAKA MEETING ON ENDING THE FIGHTING.

3. MACHEL OPINED THAT BRITAIN AND MOZAMBIQUE HAD "COMMUNITY OF AIMS" AND THAT PARTIES WERE NOW "TALKING ABOUT MECHANISMS." HE AGREED THAT WITH SATISFACTORY INTERIM GOVERNMENT FIGHTING WOULD END AND THAT SANCTIONS, WHICH WERE PART OF THE STRUGGLE, WOULD ALSO END. HE EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT BRITISH IMPLEMENTATION

OF SANCTIONS AND PROSECUTIONS OF VIOLATING FIRMS.

4. MACHEL ENVINCED SPECIAL INTEREST IN WHAT GUARANTEE THERE WOULD BE THAT RHODESIAN ARMY WOULD LAY DOWN ITS ARMS AGAINST THE NATIONALIST FORCES AND HOW BRITAIN WOULD CONTROL THE EXISTING ARMED FORCES. HE ASKED ABOUT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND WHO WOULD CONTROL THE SENIOR OFFICERS, E.G. IF A BRITISH GENERAL WERE BROUGHT IN, TO WHOM WOULD HE REPORT. (HE WAS ALSO SOMEWHAT BEMUSED AT FIRST BY IDEA OF AN OATH TO THE QUEEN.)

5. CHISSANO ASKED ABOUT THE LINK BETWEEN THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND DID NOT SEEM TO BE BOTHERED ABOUT THE IDEA OF A SPECIAL VOTE ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE SOME SUSPICION ABOUT THE INSTITUTION OF AN ADVISORY COUNCIL.

6. IN NOTING THAT THE DANGER POINT WOULD COME DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, MACHEL CAME CLOSE TO SAYING THAT SMITH WOULD "HAVE TO GO." HE REFERRED TO THE FACT THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF SMITH'S DEPARTURE HAD BEEN RAISED EARLIER, BUT HE DID NOT PUT THIS AS A PRECONDITION FOR SETTLEMENT. HE LIKED THE CONCEPT THAT POWER WOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE PRESENT RHODESIAN REGIME AND GIVEN TO AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD IN TURN PASS IT ON TO AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. HE OFFERED NO ARGUMENT ABOUT ELECTIONS, AND STATED HIMSELF THAT THE OBJECTIVE WAS "TO HAVE AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT AFTER ELECTIONS."

7. WHEN RICHARD TALKED TO MACHEL ABOUT THE NEED TO PUT PRESSURE ON SMITH, SAYING CANDIDLY, "I NEED MR. VORSTER TO DELIVER MR. SECRET

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SMITH," MACHEL INDICATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD. WHEN RICHARD EXPLAINED THAT ONE SOMETIMES HAD TO TURN TO STRANGE ALLIES, MACHEL COMMENTED, "YES, BUT THE ALLY OF MY ALLY IS NOT NECESSARILY MY OWN." NONETHELESS, MACHEL SEEMED TO APPRECIATE FULLY THE FACT THAT VORSTER HAD TO PLAY A ROLE AND IT WAS THEREFORE NECESSARY TO SATISFY VORSTER'S CONCERNS IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY CHANCE OF SECURING AN AGREEMENT.

8. MACHEL SAID THAT IF HE WERE A ZIMBABWEAN HE WOULD ACCEPT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS. HE THOUGHT THE BRITISH WERE TRYING THE RIGHT THING, AND THAT THE ONLY QUESTION WAS HOW TO MAKE SURE IT WOULD WORK. HOW, FOR INSTANCE, COULD ONE MAKE SURE THAT THE SELOUS SCOUTS REALLY DO DISBAND? RICHARD REPLIED THAT IF THE PRESENT PROPOSALS WERE TO GO THROUGH, SOUTH AFRICA IN EFFECT (AND BRITAIN TOO) WOULD BE GUARANTEING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO SECOND UDI, AND THE AFRICANS WOULD HAVE TO GUARANTEE AGAINST A RESUMPTION OF GUERRILLA WARFARE (RICHARD HAS SAID BEFORE THAT BRITAIN WOULD NOT ENTER THE AGREEMENT WITHOUT SUCH A GURANTEE FROM THE AFRICANS IN ANY EVENT.)

9. RICHARD REPEATED TO MACHEL THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO GET SOME KIND OF STATEMENT FROM LUSAKA ABOUT ENDING THE WAR. MACHEL MADE NO COMMITMENT REGARDING SUCH A STATEMENT BUT UNDERSTOOD WHAT RICHARD'S REASONING WAS AND SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS IT WITH HIS COLLEAGUES. MACHEL COULD NOT SPEAK FOR THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS AND DID NOT SAY HOW HE THOUGHT THEY WOULD REACT. RICHARD BELIEVES THAT MACHEL WILL GO TO LUSAKA AND TAKE THE POSITION THAT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS ARE REASONABLE AND SHOULD BE BACKED.

10. RICHARD AND PARTY WILL WAIT UNTIL LATE AFTERNOON BEFORE DEPARTING FOR DAR ES SALAAM, PARTLY IN HOPES OF SEEING MUGABE WHO IS STAYING AT POLANA HOTEL IN MAPUTO BUT HAS SO FAR BEEN UNWILLING TO SEE RICHARD WITHOUT NKOMO ALONG. NKOMO IS REPORTEDLY IN LAGOS BUT SHOULD BE COMING TO LUSAKA FOR THE WEEKEND MEETING. RICHARD IS THEREFORE THINKING OF SPENDING MOST OF FRIDAY JANUARY 7 IN DAR ES SALAAM, THEN GOING TO LUSAKA FRIDAY EVENING FOR A QUICK SECRET

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MEETING WITH NKOMO AND MUGABE BEFORE THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS' MEETING BEGINS. HE DOES NOT WANT TO REMAIN IN LUSAKA WHILE THE LATTER MEETING IS GOING ON, HOWEVER, AND WOULD GO ON TO NAIROBI FOR THE WEEKEND AND PERHAPS LONGER, WITH FURTHER TRAVEL TO BE DETERMINED ONLY AFTER THE RESULTS OF THE LUSAKA MEETING ARE KNOWN.

11. COMMENT: MACHEL TENDS TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF REASONABLENESS TO MANY OF HIS VISITORS AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS JUST HOW MUCH IN AGREEMENT HE MAY REALLY BE WITH RICHARD'S PROPOSALS, AND JUST HOW FAR HE WOULD GO IN SUPPORTING THEM IN LUSAKA. SOME SKEPTICISM MAY BE WARRANTED. AMBASSADOR DE PREE, WHO ACCOMPANIED ME IN SEEING RICHARD WILL FOLLOW UP TO SEE WHAT BRITISH AMBASSADOR LEWIN'S OWN ASSESSMENT IS.

12. MY OWN PLANS: I AM STILL AWAITING CLEARANCE FOR DATT AIRCRAFT TO FLY FROM HERE TO DAR. IF IT DOESN'T COME THROUGH IN NEXT FEW HOURS I WILL TAKE DATT PLANE TO JOHANNESBURG, TAKE BA030 AT 1845 TO NAIROBI (ETA 2330), OVERNIGHT AND TAKE 0915 AM EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS FLIGHT ARRIVING DAR 1020 JANUARY 7. DE PREE

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